Volume LXXXII CHICAGO, January 9, 1919 Number 18

UNITY

Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion

A NATION'S PRAYER

God of the free,
May truth exalted be,
May justice dwell with men,
Love come to earth again;
So shall the rule of might,
Yield to the reign of right,
Which shall not fail.

God of the brave,
May our flag no more wave
Over the bones of men;
May War now seek its den,
May love's fair banner, white
As Thine own perfect light,
At last prevail.

God of the true,
May our red, white, and blue
Merge with all flags of earth,
That there may come to birth
One nation led of Thee;
Let this its glad song be,
"God reigns! All hail!"

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK

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UNITY PUBLISHING COMPANY, ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE, CHICAGO

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

$2.00 PER ANNUM

ESTABLISHED 1878

With THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, THE CONGRESS OF RELIGIONS, and all other organizations and individuals seeking to widen fellowship and to realize the Brotherhood of the Spirit unrimmed by creed, form or sectarian prejudices.

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The UNITY Publishing Company

Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879."

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXII. THURSDAY, JANUARY 9, 1919 NUMBER 18

TO EVERYMAN.

All things search until they find
God through the gateway of thy mind.

Highest star and humblest clod
Turn home through thee, to God.

When thou rejoicest in the rose
Blissful from earth to heaven she goes:

Upon thy bosom summer seas
Escape from their captivities:

Within thy sleep the sightless eyes
Of night revisage Paradise:

In thy soft awe yon mountain high
To his creator draweth nigh:

This lonely tarn, reflecting thee,
Returneth to eternity:

And thus in thee the circuit vast
Is rounded and complete at last,

And at last, through thee revealed
To God, what time and space concealed;

He who made earth and sea and sky,
Made thee the apple of His eye.

And O when thou dost look in love
On dying sparrow, or wounded dove,

Dost pour thy tender healing grace
Upon some forsaken face,

Dost whisper in penurious ear
A little word of loving cheer.

My senses waken and I see
God's face, and hear His voice, in thee.

The Nation. —*Edith Anne Stewart.*

To the list of liberal journals recommended in a recent note in this column, should be added "La Follette's," "Pearson's," and "Upton Sinclair's." The first named paper has long done valiant service for enlightenment and progress in this country. "Pearson's" has gained its reputation under the vigorous editorship of Mr. Frank Harris. "Upton Sinclair's" was recently established as an organ of Mr. Sinclair's rather individual opinions on the war and problems of reconstruction. It is decidedly a one-man paper; but, for that very reason, of great interest. In the present condition of the public press, which denies hearing to any man who does not conform to the capitalized opinions of the hour, it is altogether probable, and in the highest degree desirable, that these personal publications may be greatly multiplied in the next few years.

J. H. H.

One other paper must be named, and this in a paragraph by itself. I refer to "The Arbitrator" (P. O. Box 42, Wall Street Station, New York City), a monthly journal recently established in the interest of the Free Religious Association of America. Its purpose is to offer in printed form a kind of forum for the free discussion from month to month of mooted questions of large public interest. Usually this discussion is presented as a debate with the affirmative and negative sides, and rebuttals in each case. Sometimes, as in the current issue in religious denominations, it appears as a symposium. Always the contributors are experts, and the devoted advocates of the causes which they present. "The Arbitrator" is unique among the journals of our time, and a most effective exponent of that free spirit to the service of which the Free Religious Association has so long been dedicated.

J. H. H.

It is reported that the General Staff of the United States Army has agreed upon a plan for universal military training in this country, and that this plan will soon be laid before Congress for adoption. The National Security League is busy polling Senators and Representatives on this issue, and seems to find an impressive majority in both houses in favor of the military training policy. A casual inquiry as to the fate of Camp Devens, in Massachusetts, after demobilization is completed, brings the definite reply that the Camp is to be kept for use when the universal military training plan is in operation. Thus does the good work go on! It seems inconceivable that we should have expended billions of dollars and thousands of lives to uproot and destroy militarism in Europe, only to transplant the ugly growth immediately to our own national soil. But such is the process that is now being blithely carried forward. And ministers, teachers and college professors are joining with politicians, soldiers and patrioteers in support of the great betrayal. The American Union Against Militarism is fighting the scheme, but unless it is speedily joined by a great array of labor and liberal opinion, it will accomplish nothing. Action must wait upon conviction, and courage on both.

J. H. H.

In discussing the personnel of the group about the peace table, the *Public* admits that there may be, although there should not be, question as to the labor

group and the farmer group being represented, but it adds with just and commendable emphasis that there can be no question as to the right of women to sit at that table. It goes on to say in this connection:

> If that be considered class representation it is only because one class, the male, has heretofore been recognized. The call sent out by Mrs. Catt to the women of other countries to urge upon their governments the importance of appointing women representatives should succeed. She recognizes that it is unprecedented, but insists that precedent has lost its stranglehold. "The deep-lying fundamental outrage to the woman nature," says Mrs. Catt, "because of the terrible destruction of human life has been augmented by the outrage to her human nature in having been denied representation in governments that command her allegiance. Women possess an understanding of the psychology of human nature that dowers them with a distinct power of contribution to the peace table." Upon what grounds can this request be refused? Men have made wars and men have made peace—that always led to more wars. With women in the peace council there may be less need of war councils in the future. Q.

In a recent UNITY we noted the mass-meetings held by Greek and by Irish citizens to demand for Greece and for Ireland from the Peace Conference that self-determination and independence which has been promised all small nations. Since then, the Jews at a National Conference in Philadelphia have made a similar demand for the Jewish nation which they hope to found in Palestine. And the negroes at a great convention in Washington adopted resolutions to be presented to the Peace Conference demanding the abolition of the social, economic and political barriers which have so long and so unjustly prevented their race from sharing equally with other races in the benefits and rights and privileges of democracy. And now comes the proclamation of "The Irish Republic" announced as, at present, the result of a "peaceful revolution," determined to await the decision of the Peace Conference! One cannot help wondering what will happen, should the decisions of the Conference be adverse to all these budding national hopes. Surely it is a tremendous responsibility—and opportunity—with which that Conference is faced! Q.

It is most interesting to note that England in the midst of war, threatened as she was by invasion, still adhered to democracy and the Education Act passed by Parliament seeking to bring her education up to standard nowhere provides for compulsory military training. The answers to the questionnaires in the draft have proven so inadequate that the arguments for universal military training are all good for a reform in our own system. Neglect of civic duties, group selfishness, personal inefficiency, vocational waste, ignorance of hygiene, crime and viciousness, ineffective education, lowered vitality, physical defection, alien influence, all these go to prove that we must at once set to work to remedy our public schools, our housing and our industrial life if we are to keep pace with our responsibilities and opportunities. But to assume for one moment that one year of military service after the school age in times of peace, will remedy these glaring evils is absurd and a camouflage. Good has come from the outdoor life and regular exercise, from the physical training and working together in the camps, all of which need not be postponed until one is of military age. We have the long summer vacations with public work to be done all over this country. Let our boys and girls be made to feel a responsibility, let them have the benefit of the camp but let it be in the line of service. Without the saving grace of service it will be like the German system. Our schools have not begun to meet the need of the public nor measured in any degree to their powers of usefulness to the community. The American Union Against Militarism, 203 Westory Building, Washington, D. C., will be glad to have your name and your contribution to help protect us from the stupidity of having this country follow the footsteps of Germany in compulsory military training. If we cannot think things out for ourselves but must follow, then let us follow democratic England and remodel our educational system from the ground up as has England, leaving out military training. Before the war the physical education in our schools was absurdly inadequate. O. C. S.

In its final issue for 1918, *The Woman Citizen*, official organ of the National Woman Suffrage Association, summarizes the figures which represent the present status of woman's enfranchisement in the world. We are told that in 12 foreign countries women are now voting upon practically the same terms as men. The nations which thus practice as well as preach democracy are: Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and, largest of all in population, Russia. France, Belgium, Italy and Sweden, we are told, "have all reached a stage where favorable consideration is about to ripen into experiment." And "in virtually all the new governments now in formation on the ruins of autocracy in Europe, women suffrage is recognized as essential to that democracy toward which even the Central Powers are at last struggling." In England in the recent elections a large majority of the six million women eligible voted despite most unfavorable weather conditions, while in some London districts, the women during the morning hours voted in the proportion of ten women to one man. The daughters of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Bonar Law and the wife of Mr. Lloyd-George campaigned most vigor-

ously and addressed many meetings, each urging the return of the head of her family. A persistent pre-election rumor which we hope will become a post-election fact, stated that Lloyd-George, if returned, would appoint a woman to his Cabinet. In the United States, counting North Dakota, Michigan and Oklahoma which won suffrage in the November elections, women now vote at the election of 132 Congressmen, help to elect 213 of the 531 members of the Electoral College, of whom only 266 are needed for the choice of the President of the United States. Eleven million here may vote for federal officials, while the total number of women in the world voting on an equality with men is seventy-five million. The weekly does not state the number of women who have given their sons and husbands and brothers to die in the War for democracy, nor does it state the numbers who have through four and a half years given practically every waking moment to every possible branch of activity —Red Cross, Hospital Service, Munition making, interminable knitting, selling and buying Liberty Bonds, and so on *ad infinitum*—which would aid in the prosecution of the war, without which the war could not have been carried on. But it does record the disgraceful fact that a few reactionaries in the United States Senate, despite the twice repeated appeal of their President, despite such statistics as these, are able to keep from the womanhood of America this democracy in fighting for which they have been only too eager to accept, even to compel, the women's aid and sacrifice.

Q.

Dangers in Reconstruction

The dangers the world is now facing appear to be greater than those which were present when war was raging at its height. Now there is opposition to every proposed method of reconstruction. A league to insure peace is opposed by many in this country, as well as in England, France and elsewhere. The demand that each nation shall seek its own interests without regard to those of other lands finds frequent utterance. This national selfishness has the greatest danger in it, there can be no doubt.

The men who have been selected to sit at the peace table do not by any means guarantee that the rights of the people shall be recognized to the fullest extent, that the small nations shall be adequately recognized, or that new and modern ideas shall control the final settlements. The old diplomatic methods seem too likely to control the sittings of the peace conference, and secret treaties in the old style may find their opportunity for development in the final issue. That the world will be made wholly safe for democracy we may have reasons to doubt, considering the composition of the conference.

While the war went on it was repeatedly asserted that this must be the final war; but to-day it by no means appears that this is likely to be the outcome of the attempts to adjust the relations of the various European nations. The demands being made upon Germany and Austria, as well as Russia, do not indicate that war will not again grow out of the conditions imposed. Coercion and excessive demands do not look towards permanent peace. The right of each nation to determine its own internal affairs seems to be essential to permanent peace.

Whether the peace conference will so adjust the relations of the antagonistic nations as to secure results of advantage to all alike may be doubtful at the present time. However, it appears that President Wilson is desirous of bringing permanent peace to a warring world, that his methods are those of justice, and recognition of the rights of all. If the conference finally secures the results we desire it will be largely owing to his conciliatory methods and ideals. We may have all confidence in his desire for fair dealing and the promotion of the welfare of all the nations. To this end he should have the utmost of cordial support in this country. If there is here a lack of fidelity to his principles danger may be feared.

G. W. C.

HOPE.

I can never believe that you are lost to us, my King,
though our poverty is great and deep our shame.
Your will works behind the veil of despair,
and in your own time opens the gate of the impossible.
You come like unto your own house in the unprepared hall,
and on the unexpected day.
Dark ruins at your touch become like a bud
in whose bosom grows unseen the flower of fulfilment,
Therefore I still have hope, not that the wrecks will be mended,
but a new world will arise.

Humanity. —*Rabindranath Tagore.*

MY FRIENDS.

Do you like rain?
That comes in the night after you are in bed
And tumbles on the roof,
And sweeps the window pane?
Do you like the sun,
That comes in the morning after the rain has gone?
That is how I like my friends.

Do you like morning—
When birds wake up and sing,
And children walk to school with neat hair and clean faces?
Do you like evening,
When everything is tired and goes home?
That is how I like my friends.

Do you like the stars—
Aldebaran, Altair, Orion,
The Pleiades, Arcturus—
Familiar, wonderful—
That is how I like my friends.

The New Republic. *Phœbe Crosby Allnut.*

The League of Nations and Dependent Peoples

Viscount Grey has made a notable pronouncement regarding the desirability of the "principle of trusteeship to those vast tracts, especially Africa, where no independent national government of the natives can be formed." The British Labor Party declared months ago:

> As regards more especially the colonies of all belligerents in Tropical Africa, from sea to sea, including the whole of the region north of the Zambesi and south of the Sahara, the Conference condemns any imperialist idea which would make these countries the booty of one or several nations, exploit them for the promotion of the militarist aims of the governments.
>
> "With respect to these colonies, the Conference declares in favor of a system of control established by international agreement, under the League of Nations and maintained by its guarantee, which, whilst respecting national sovereignty would be inspired by broad conceptions of economic freedom and concerned to safeguard the rights of the natives under the best conditions for them."

The South African colonies are eager to annex the conquered German colonies and are proclaiming the horrors of German misgovernment of the natives. Doubtless these horrors existed, but the horrors of the Belgian rubber district under King Leopold, the harshness of the Dutch settlers to natives and our own old-time slavery and recent lynchings bear sad witness that mistreating black people is the sin of the whole white race.

The problem now is not merely that of the German colonies; it is the problem of all tropic Africa, rich in natural resources, to which all the exploiters of the world are eagerly looking for opportunity to elbow each other out of the way and let the native take his chances under such conditions as power and wealth create.

This war was caused not so much by desire to control Europe, but regions outside Europe and trade routes thereto. These backward, potentially rich regions should go to no one nation. These should be put under a common trusteeship as the best English thought maintains, as were our western lands at the beginning of our Union. The common interest in these territories was a means of binding more closely together the thirteen colonies that had been pulling apart. Little by little as these territories became fit for statehood they were granted it. In some such manner these enormous, little known regions which, left to themselves, may become a hell on earth, should be protected and developed and, some time in the future, when education has done its work, be admitted into the League of Nations. Capital must be allowed to flow into these regions; railroads, mines, cotton, sugar and rubber plantations must follow, but over all must be placed the vigilant eye and the strong hand of an international commission of disinterested experts. These men must be carefully picked for their capacity to organize a body of specialists to work under them in such fashion as to put the interests of the natives and the interests of the world before the interests of investors and financiers. They may fail but new commissioners may do better. A League of Nations will be worth little that does not permit experiment and growth.

The French are reported as indifferent to what shall be the disposition of the German colonies. Unless there is a strong endorsement by America of Viscount Grey's proposal of trusteeship a tremendous opportunity for helping millions of people and preserving peace may be thrown aside. Let the general principle be insisted on at the Peace Conference that, a League once established, all uncivilized or helpless parts of the earth shall be put under its protection and jurisdiction. This should include Asia Minor for a time as well as the Balkan regions until perpetual friction there ceases to threaten the world's peace.

The Christian world cannot afford to look lightly upon the great decision that is soon to be made. Upon its right settlement depends not only the fate of many millions of fellow beings but the good will and cooperation of the members of the League of Nations. Should the British Empire take great regions as spoils of war, it would further embitter Germany and it would put England's entrance into the war upon a less unselfish basis than that of the United States. The two great English speaking peoples should come out of this world cataclysm untainted with any accusation of self-seeking. If Great Britain wishes to maintain moral leadership she and her colonies must heed the best English thought on the subject. The principle of "no conquest," expressed by the President years ago in his great Mobile address, should be adopted henceforth, not only by the United States. It should be written into the new platform of the League of Nations. Viscount Grey emphasizes "the earnest advocacy of the part to be taken by the United States in helping to give effect to this principle of trusteeship and in the council of the world." It is an honor and privilege for our country to be universally recognized as a nation peculiarly fitted to be the moral leader in this greatest effort ever made by humanity to embody Christian principles in political institutions. Says Viscount Grey, "Without the United States, any Council or League of Nations will soon be little more than the old Concert of Europe which was spoiled invariably by intrigues within and split into opposing groups." Americans cannot ignore humanity's wards. Our own injustice to the black man must be rectified and simultaneously we must insist that the League of Nations must start out by putting the disinterested help of the strong around the weakness of the weak, and thus promote not merely peace but world prosperity.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

THE PULPIT

What the Church is Worth to God

By Rev. Roland D. Sawyer.

It was the reverent Roman moralist, Epictetus, who wisely said, "God brought men into the world to contemplate him and his works, and not only to contemplate, but to interpret them." This far-seeing seer got a dim vision of the fact that there is yet another step ahead of us in the work of evolution. What Epictetus saw so far ahead of his day, any thoughtful well-informed theist can easily see in these days. When God after the age-long process had evolved man, evolution did not cease; further evolution was to come, and we can now begin to see the next step. Man had with animals, the five senses, but God had led him up to intelligence, an intelligence which should grow to where it could have fellowship with God and interpret his works. It took millions of years to make man what he is, but as the process goes along the forces move with greater rapidity, and the next step should come in a few hundred thousand years.

We are in the process of the next step in evolution, the evolving of a rationalized and moralized humanity. This process proceeds along two lines: (a) the making of more rational individuals direct; (b) the making of better society which shall nurture and develop better individuals.

The first men were unattached; slowly social life developed, there came the family, the tribe, the clan, the nation. And each social institution turned out better men and women. Family life gave us love, altruism, in its beginnings; and because the sense developed by family life is the oldest it is the strongest sentiment. Tribal and clanish relations developed the community spirit within us, and the sentiment of loyalty to community is strong. The nation developed love for country, another very strong sentiment. And these sentiments being essentially unselfish have enlarged man, made him more and more tolerant and kind and just.

Alongside of this indirect way of making better men and women, God has worked direct on men; given them, or leading them to see, larger ideas and ideals; a realm of spiritual and moral insight, which has lifted the soul to higher things. Great teachers have helped me to see the truth, which as Jesus said, "should make them free." Moses, Buddha, Socrates, Pythagoras, Zoroaster, Lao-Tze, Confucius, Seneca, Epictetus, were all inspired men to lead their fellows to see larger ideas, which when men believed them, would rationalize and develop the individual life. And greater than all others were the Hebrew Prophets, Ben-Sirach, Hillel, and finally Jesus. These great and shining lights appealed to men, *to each man,* to rise to the dignity and worth of manhood.

The ideas and ideals of men seem to have reached their limit in the mind of Jesus. True there has developed within my own life-time a new and vast ideal, that of the social ethic. The larger ideas of the French Revolution added to the new ideas we have gotten from modern industrial and social life have made us see as Whittier said, "That the soul saved alone is lost." But I am inclined to believe that even this ideal of the social ethic is found in the teachings of Jesus; as indeed it is found less clearly in the teachings of the Prophets and of Rufinus and Seneca.

The family was a great step ahead; when men learned to organize the domestic circle they did a big thing; the tribe and clan was another step, it led to larger conceptions; the state and nation was a much larger thing, it led to love of country, mutual development in a large circle of life. But men have seemed content to stop there. The race has not learned how to organize a larger unit than the nation. God has had to use harsh measures to shake us up to move on ahead. God has worked hard to break down national and racial barriers. *Jesus was clearly the first inter-nationalist.* He stretched forth his hands and said all were his family, his brothers, his countrymen, who would do the will of God. But men have not responded to the appeal of Jesus. In their stupidity they have clung to nationalism. Tolstoy took up the appeal of Jesus and threatened and pleaded with Europe to escape the great war between nations, but no one heard. The great conquerors like Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne did much good, though at a terrible cost which a more intelligent humanity might have escaped. It is to be hoped that the present war will teach the race to take the necessary step ahead, to overcome nationalism, a love for nation which is half hatred of every other nation. We may hope and look for the beginning of that international organization and spirit which Jesus long ago called us to, but which we were too stupid to follow.

When we internationalize our organization, we will unite the process of individual and social salvation, which has been with us thousands of years. This seems the great movement which evolution, guided by God, will take in the future. And organization which can aid it is of great value to God.

The historic work of God in the process of the next step of evolution has been:

(1) To create social institutions which should force upon the weak mind of man, the feelings of altruism, love, justice.
(2) To elevate, rationalize and moralize the individual, by the appeal direct to ideas and ideals, so fast as he could receive them.

These two methods of evolution were to give way to a third, which should be a union of the two, as soon as man was sufficiently advanced to take the next step. Jesus was the providential man who called us to act with God in the *union,* and to develop a life as broad as the race. Jesus called mankind to lay down the sword of nationalism, to arise above the religion of a race, and become brothers all and the children of One Father. We have been slow to see the real meaning of the message of internationalism as Jesus preached it, and we have paid for our stupidity in the continued horrors of war between nations, and the slow work of religion divided among races. Perhaps the horrors of the present war, so great that even to a stupid race war becomes intolerable, perhaps these horrors will make us ready to listen to Jesus.

There is evidence that St. Paul saw something of the great possibilities in the Church, for he frequently points out in his epistles that we are working together with God for a great end. Especially in 1 Cor. 3:9, he reminds the Church at Corinth that "We are God's

fellow-workers; God's tilled-land," to bring forth a plant which the great teachers and apostles have but watered and cultivated.

Humanity has reached the place where it is sufficiently developed to work together with the Eternal —grand and inspiring possibility.

Paul saw that the Church was an institution that could work with God in taking the next step. He did not understand what that next step was, but inspired by his faith he was ready to take it. In breaking down nationalism and substituting a broader social unit, the unit of *all the world,* it was first necessary to organize along those lines. The Church was to be an institution which leaped over national barriers, built up its membership among all races, stood firm for the ideal of a common brotherhood of man. Sad to say the theoretic work of the Church has not been done. Nationalism has been too strong. A Tolstoy who saw the real meaning of Christianity and challenged the world was set down as a crank; Rolland of Europe who sought to maintain the ideal was banished; Liebknecht who sought to restrain his nation from breaking it was sent to prison; and it has taken the horrors of four years of world war and the killing and maiming of twenty million youths, and the destroying of 200 billions of dollars worth of property, to make us ready to see the truth first taught by Jesus, and recently so forcibly taught by Tolstoy.

If the church will arise to the ideal of Jesus and a few of its greater figures, it is by history and its very organization, the one institution that can lead the way in helping God in that next step he evidently intends to take in moving humanity along.

The Church is worth to God, just what aid it can give in working with Him to internationalize the race of men. If it leads the way, it is worth more to God than every other institution; if it hangs back, still sticks to its national gods and national religion, fails to comprehend the ideals and ideas of its Founder, then it is worth nothing at all. Had the Church grasped the meaning of the Gospel of Jesus, it would have through the ages taught the international ideal and averted this last, and many other, horrible wars; but it did not. The birthright of the Church is to lead in the work of establishing the international ethic and organization; in the past it has sold its birthright for a mess of pottage, what will it do in the future?

THE POETS.

We need you now, strong guardians of our hearts,
  Now, when a darkness lies on sea and land,
When we of weakening faith forget our parts
  And bow before the falling of the sand.
Be with us now or we betray our trust
  And say, "There is no wisdom but in death"—
(Remembering lovely eyes now closed with dust)—
  "There is no beauty that outlasts the breath."
For we are growing blind and cannot see,
  Beyond the clouds that stand like prison bars,
The changeless regions of our empery,
  Where once we moved in friendship with the stars.
O children of the light, now in our grief
  Give us again the solace of belief.

Contemporary Verse. —*Scudder Middleton.*

Earl Grey

It has been said of this English peer who died not long ago that, "No more beautiful or lovable character has adorned our generation." A biography by Harold Bigbie (published by Hodder & Stoughton, London and New York, 1917) tends to confirm this assertion. His name must not be confounded with that of Lord Grey, now living, once English minister for Foreign Affairs.

When Governor-General of Canada Earl Grey upon one occasion was lost in a strange country. "Coming at last in sight of a forlorn cottage he sent one of his staff to inquire if they could have tea there. When he arrived before the door of this shack he found an old Scots body standing there who had been told that he was the Governor-General. She came to his side, raised an old withered hand, and began gently stroking his thigh, looking up at him awesomely as he sat on his horse. 'There, there,' she muttered, 'I could easier talk to the Lord Jesus Christ than I can talk to you.' 'Of course you could,' said Lord Grey, bending down to her; 'you talk to Him every morning, and every evening: this is the first time you have talked to me.'" As a young man Lord Grey was profoundly moved by the writings of Mazzini and would mark passages that particularly impressed him. He pencil-scored the following reference to action: "If your conscience tells you it would be injurious, desist; desist, even though it seem that an immediate advantage to your country or family would be the result." Again he marked, "The sufferings of the poor are partially known to the wealthier classes; *known,* but not *felt.*" Here was the beginning in his life of what the world needs more of —Christian statesmanship.

Early in his career he commenced to distrust political parties, he seemed to feel that real democracy could not be reached through fidelity to them. He declared that, "Uniformity produces deadness, and freedom and diversity of relations alone supply the conditions which give birth to intellectual life, activity, originality, and statesmanship." He feared party control of the House of Commons and believed that a strong and resolute House was absolutely essential to the safety of the people. In this connection he wrote, "As soon as men lose faith in one another, Anarchy comes knocking at the door." May it not be well for America to remember this in years to come?

Earl Grey carried his religion into politics. He considered that God was a political necessity. We are told that "he loved the divine Majesty." He braved aristocratic Church associations when he declared, "Christianity has been fighting on an impossible ground. It has had to speak of its love principle in a world organized for the advantage of the strong. The system of commercial competition, with all its inevitable cruelties, is the very negation of Christianity. And yet our State, which is founded on this principle, professes to be founded on Christianity! Obviously this is nonsense. . . . It is a State definitely opposed to the conception of a Christian State." He plead that the church "create a real sense of brotherhood," and practice it. His biographer says, "He asked one to contemplate how vastly different now would be the state of mankind if, instead of a chronicle of religious wars and theological divisions, the history of the last thousand years had recorded the effort of mankind

to obey the simple and definite commands of Christ. He saw everything his soul could conceive of in religion, in those two commandments, love of God and love of man."

He applied his conception of the Christian religion to private life, and we are all acquainted with the fact that many good men fail to do so. Once a friend of his when speaking to him regarding a certain incident remarked, "I shall never forgive that." With a look of pity he replied, "Then God help you!"

Lord Grey was born to the enjoyment of wealth, beautiful buildings, field amusements, intellectual excitements, social ceremonies, dinner parties, wide influence, political power. He was a handsome man, loving wit and fun. At one time he was very nearly spoiled by society. But he never forgot God and his obligations to men. He was gallant on behalf of the right. It is to be regretted that such a life could not have been spared to the service of humanity and that he died just at this critical period of the world's history. When on his death-bed he gave to his biographer this final message:

"A voice from the grave often gets a hearing. That's what I am after. I want to try to make my voice sound from the grave. I want to say to people that there is a real way out of all this mess materialism has got them into. I have been trying to tell them for thirty years. It's Christ's way. Mazzini saw it. We've got to give up quarreling. We've got to come together. We've got to realize that we're all members of the same family. There's nothing that can help humanity, I'm perfectly sure there isn't—perfectly sure—except love. Love is the way out, and the way up. That's my farewell to the world!"

Are not many of us beginning to realize that this splendid Christian statesman spoke the truth?

San Jose, Cal. WILLIAM C. ALLEN.

THE SISTER OF THE QUEEN

A queen and peasant met and smiled
Upon the open road;
Beside the queen the royal child
In splendid trappings glowed,
While on her breast the peasant bore
Her babe, ill-clad, unshod.
The queen rode in her coach and four—
Afoot the peasant trod.

But mother love and kindred souls
Looked from the eyes of each,
E'en though such far-diverging goals
Their spirits sought to reach.
"Who was it," asked the little son
Of royal blood and mien,
"That passed us and you smiled upon?"
"My sister!" said the queen.

—*Ella Bentley Arthur.*

Faith and trust, and the pledging of ourselves to the infinite will and love, are qualities that cannot be created in us by the Almighty as natural forms of our inward constitution. They are results of the spiritual powers set in opposition to hardship, perplexity, sorrow, and the sight of things seeming to drift wrong.

Starr King.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

The History and Practice of Religion

A Seven Year Course

Formerly directed by Jenkin Lloyd Jones and still pursued by the Religious Study Classes and Sunday School of All Souls Church, Chicago.

The Second Year

The Religions of the Elder World

In 1889 Mr. Jones introduced a curriculum of study into his Sunday School reaching through a period of six years. This course was later elaborated into a seven year cycle and was followed not only in the Sunday School and by the teachers but by a Tuesday morning class for mothers. This Tuesday Class has continued throughout these years without interruption and with unflagging interest. As stated by a charter member at the Memorial Service held a few weeks ago, it perhaps has continued because there was given an answer to the insistent question, "What are we here for?" She said, "Mr. Jones gave us his answer to this riddle of the Universe as he found it in history, science, philosophy, art, literature and his own soul," and she urged the class to "follow the gleam."

At the first meeting of the class this fall it was voted to continue by individual members leading the class, as has previously been successfully done during Mr. Jones's March "Escapes," and with occasional expert help from the outside. In the study of Egypt Professor James H. Breasted in three lessons rounded out and illuminated the work as only an expert can.

For six years UNITY has published very brief reports of the lessons and it is proposed to complete in its columns the seven year cycle, using freely Mr. Jones's outline notes of seven and fourteen years ago.

A sixteen-page pamphlet setting forth the full seven years' course can be secured by application at UNITY office, for fifteen cents a copy.

Following is list of topics for the year:

TOPICS

1. Introductory—A Lesson in Geography.
2. Egypt.
3. The Pyramids.
4. Thebes and Its Temples.
5. The Sphinx.
6. Assyria.
7. Babylon.
8. The Tower of Babel.
9. The Code of Hammurabi.

10-11. The Hittites.

12. The Phoenicians.
13. India.
14. The Rama-yana.
15. The Maha-bharata.
16. The Bhagavad-Ghita.
17. Modern Hinduism.
18. Buddha.
19. Tripitaka—The Buddhist Bible.
20. Modern Buddhism.
21. Zoroaster.
22. Zend-Avesta—The Parsi Bible.
23. The Modern Parsi.
24. China.
25. Lao-Tze.
26. Confucius.
27. Mencius.
28. Greece.
29. Sokrates.
30. Plato.
31. Mohammed.
32. The Koran.
33. Modern Mohammedanism.

Suggested Reading:

Two small books paralleling in a general way this year's work: "Ancient Times, A History of the Early World," by James A. Breasted, and "The Religions of the World," by George A. Barton.

BREASTED: History of Egypt.
BREASTED: Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt.
BUDGE: Dwellers on the Nile.
EBERS: Uarda.
EDWARDS: Thousand Miles up the Nile.
EDWARDS: The Pharaohs.
ERMAN: Life in Ancient Egypt.
MASPERO: Dawn of Civilization.
MASPERO: Egyptian Archaeology.
PETRIE: History of Egypt.
PETRIE: Pyramids and Temple of Gizeh.
PETRIE: Ten Years' Digging in Egypt.
BUDGE: Babylonian Life and History.
JASTROW: Religion in Babylonia and Assyria.
HARPER, R. F.: Code of Hammurabi.
DELITZSCH: Babel and Bible.
LAYARD: Discoveries Among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon.
ROBINSON: History of Assyria.
SAYCE: Hibbert Lectures for 1887.
SAYCE: Social Life Among the Assyrians and Babylonians.
BANKS: The Bible and the Spade.
SAYCE: The Hittites.
PETERS: Nippur.
JACKSON: Persia Past and Present.
JACKSON: Zoroaster.
COOMARASWANG, A. K.: Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism.
DAWSON, MILES M.: The Ethics of Confucius.
BASHFORD, JAMES W.: China: An Interpretation (Abingdon Press, 1916).
MYERS: General History.
WEST: Ancient History.
ANDERSON: Story of Extinct Civilizations, First and Second Centuries.
CLARKE: Ten Great Religions.
COX: Myths of Aryan Nations.
HOWARD: Studies of Non-Christian Religions.
JONES: Seven Great Religious Teachers.
RAWLINSON: Seven Great Monarchies.
DUTT, ROMESH C.: The Ramayana and Maha-bharata condensed into English Verse (Everyman's Library).
BEAL: Texts From the Dhammapada; Bhagavad-Ghita.
BLOOMFIELD: Religion; Mahabharata; Ramayana.
MUELLER: Chips from a German Workshop.
MUELLER: Sacred Books of the East.
REED: Hindu Literature.
WILLIAMS, SIR MONIER: Brahmanism and Hinduism.
WILLIAMS, SIR MONIER: Indian Wisdom.
AIKEN: Dhamma of Gotama.
ARNOLD, EDWIN: Light of Asia.
ARNOLD, EDWIN: Indian Idyls.
BEAL: Buddhism in China.
CARUS: Buddhism and Christian Ethics.
CARUS: Gospel of Buddhism.
CARUS: Nirvana.
JOHNSON: Oriental Religions—India.
REED: Primitive Buddhism.
RHYS-DAVIDS: Origin and Growth of Religion Illustrated by Buddhism.
WILLIAMS, SIR MONIER: Buddhism.
JOHNSON: Oriental Religions—Persia.
JOHNSON: Oriental Religions—China.
DOUGLAS: Confucianism and Taouism.
HUC: Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China.
LEGGE: Chinese Classics—Confucius.
MORSE: Glimpses of China and Chinese Homes.
WILLIAMS: Middle Kingdom.
HAINES: Islam as a Missionary Religion.
MUIR: Coran.
ST. CLAIR, TISDALL: Religion of the Crescent.
STOBART: Islam.
MACAULIFFE: The Sikh Religion, 3 Vols.

A series of handbooks, written by recognized authorities, published in London, *almost* adequate to the necessity, offers a convenient aid to teachers and pupils:

CLODD: Animism.
PICTON: Pantheism.
GILES: Religion of Ancient China.
HARRISON, JANE: Religion of Ancient Greece.
ALI, SYED AMUR: Islam.
HADDEN, A. C.: Magic and Fetichism.
PETRIE: Religion of Ancient Egypt.
PINCHES, T. G.: Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.
BARNETT, L. D.: Hinduism.
CRAGIE, W. A.: Scandinavian Religion.
ANWYL: Celtic Religion.
SQUIRE, CHARLES: Mythology of Ancient Britain and Ireland.
ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL: Judaism.
ASTON, W. G.: Shinto.
ARNOLD, T. W.: Islam in India.
RHYS-DAVIDS: Buddhism, 2 vols.

SPIRITUAL LIFE.

And the quest, the pursuit,
The attack and the conquest,
Of the Unknown goes on—
Goes on in the Joy of the Lord.
For beaten in Time
From the start to the finish,
So utterly beaten
Appeal is impossible,
The Spirit of Man
Inquiring, aspiring;
Passionately scaling
Ice-bitten altitudes,
Neighboured of none
Save the austere
Unapproachable Stars,
Scapes from its destiny,
Holds on its course
Of attest and discovery,
So as to leave,
When the Lord takes it back to him,
The lot of the World
Something the prouder,
Something the loftier,
Something the braver,
For that it hath done.

The Indian Messenger. —*W. E. Henley.*

A Seditious Hero

Sir: What can be done about Lieut. Col. Whittlesey? You may recall the Colonel. At least, you should. He is the same memorable soldier who, when his "lost battalion" was surrounded in the Argonne and when called on to surrender, sent back the answer which thrilled all America. At a recent peace jubilee the Colonel followed Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo and, after paying a tribute to the cleanly spirit of our common soldiers, uttered these astonishing sentences: (This is from the New York *Times* verbatim report.)

"Our men are not going to come back hating the Germans," he declared. "No man who has been in the line facing the Germans will bear any malice toward them. I know if any American infantryman met the Kaiser on the road he would be willing to share his hardtack with him. This is not a false sentiment."

What, I ask again, are we going to do about Lieut. Col. Whittlesey? Should he be lynched? Should we deprive him of the power of free speech and free assembly? Should we deny him the use of the mails? Or should we merely sentence him to one year in Atlanta for the dissemination of seditious remarks?

The New Republic. —*Louis Untermeyer.*

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do Good is my Religion"

MY EXPERIENCE OF BOLSHEVISM.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—I have been two years in Russia, engaged in relief work. I have been in Samara, in Moscow, on the Western frontier, in Astrakhan and the Caucasus, and quite recently in Petrograd. From time to time I have been in relation with Bolshevik commissars, and have found them well-disposed, and men, as a rule, with a sense of their responsibility. . . .

On the western frontier, which I visited at the end of May, the Government was making use of an existing organization, the "Union of Towns," for the relief of refugees. Thirteen thousand people were being fed at Orsha, and arrangements were being made for the supply of foodstuffs along the whole western frontier from other parts of Russia. Whether these arrangements have been prejudicially affected by the Allied occupation I cannot say.

In Astrakhan the relief is being carried out directly by commissars and committees working under a state department. I visited, in September, the commissar in charge of Armenian affairs, who is also commissar (minister) of the Interior in the republic of Astrakhan. Six million roubles had been assigned by the central department in Moscow for the relief of refugees in Astrakhan and the Caucasus. A commissioner had been sent into the Caucasus to link up existing relief committees with the State department. A sign that the department was bent on practical measures of relief was the fact that they were sending 30,000 yards of cloth into the Caucasus for the Armenian refugees. By the way, I might mention that an Englishman working under the Bolshevik relief department travelled with several comrades of the Red Guard on a journey of more than a week's duration in a goods wagon bringing the cloth from Petrograd to Astrakhan.

On my return to England, I find that there is a great discrepancy between what my countrymen expect to hear about Russia and what I can tell them. Where one is expected to describe scenes of bloodshed and riot in the streets of Moscow and Petrograd I saw no scenes of violence or disorder. The extreme shortage of food makes this somewhat remarkable. I should perhaps qualify the above statement by saying that there was one disturbance while I was in Moscow (I was there from the beginning of May to the middle of July), a disturbance occasioned by the murder of Count Mirbach by the Social Revolutionaries, which was promptly suppressed by the Bolshevik Government.

As to personal safety, I can only say that it was possible to travel unmolested from Moscow to the Southern limit of the Caucasus through Bolshevik territory. It is true that on my arrival at Vladikavkas (August 18th), two days after the Bolsheviks had captured it from the Cossacks, there was looting by Ingush tribesmen, but by the third day it was put down by the Bolshevik administration. On the other hand, the only occasion when I was molested was on my return journey through a village belonging to our allies, the Cossacks, where some mountain tribesmen, allies of our allies, were engaged in dragging a woman out of the village to shoot her.

It may be urged that the preservation of public order signifies nothing more than the acquiescence in a reign of terror by a frightened population. In that case one would expect to find signs of a repressive police or unpopular martial law.

Since the first revolution there has been no police force; its functions have now fallen to the Red Guard. A little less than a year ago the Red Guard was a body containing heterogeneous and irresponsible elements. These are no longer conspicuous. The Committee system, which arose in an army which did not trust its officers, has gone, and officers promoted from the ranks have full authority and maintain discipline. In fact, the experiment of creating a disciplined army without offending the Socialist temper of the soldier seems to have succeeded. The difference between the Red Guards of nine months ago and those of to-day is very noticeable in their bearing. They now have the air of men confident in themselves and their cause, who are conscious that they share the faith and aspirations of the masses. The Red Army, which is directed by the Commissar for War in Moscow, is said to be a million strong. Nine months ago a few thousand men could with difficulty be scraped together from the highways.

It may be supposed that order both in the army and in the towns exists only in certain special parts of Russia. But the truth—not always known in England—is that from the Western frontier to beyond the Volga, that is to say, over the greater part of Russia, there is a federation of Republics and a uniform structure of Government. In the cases of Astrakhan and Saratov, the limits of the two republics seemed to correspond with those of the old governments of those names. In each there is a central Soviet, while in every town and village there is a smaller Soviet. The professional classes, teachers, doctors, chemists, etc., are represented by their Souz or trade union.

The confidence of the population in the stability of the Government is greater than it was earlier in the year.

Contrary to the expectations, not only of its opponents, but also of many of its supporters, it has survived the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the signing of which has actually increased Lenin's prestige in Russia. The Czecko-Slovaks, who were carrying all before them in the Spring, have retreated from the Volga into Siberia, and Lenin's popularity has greatly increased since the attempt to assassinate him. . . .

The failure of all plots, of which there have been plenty, to overturn the Government, combined with the weakness of the Social Revolutionaries, has made it clear to the Russians, even if it is not yet clear to us, that there is, at present at least, no alternative party. Gorky has recognized this, and has joined the Government. Early in October he called a mass meeting in Petrograd in which he appealed to the Intellectuals to join forces with the Bolsheviks. The meeting had a great success. In view of the facts of the situation it is difficult to believe that anything short of intervention by foreign armies, which would involve the occupation and garrisoning of towns, both large and small, is likely to upset the Bolshevik Government.

The objection to the Soviet system likely to be most strongly held by Liberals is that it is not democratic. This is possibly true; but the Russians may possibly argue that a labor qualification for the franchise is at least as democratic as a property qualification.

The Soviet Government is an experiment, and to be blind to the experimental nature of Revolution in itself is to misunderstand it. Just as it is a mistake for us to wish to apply our own constitutional precedents in Russia, so it is a mistake to see in the Bolshevik application of Marxian doctrine the experiments of mere doctrinaires Lenin is a doctrinaire in the full sense of the word, he never relinquishes one iota of the pure doctrine, but he is a doctrinaire at bay, and never fails to use an advantage when circumstances offer. Such a weapon, ready to the hands of the Bolsheviks, was the Industrial Soviet bequeathed by the Revolution of 1905.

The experiment would have been crushed by the Constituent Assembly, which we now know was not wholly representative of the Russian people because it was elected before the return of the younger generation from the front had remodelled the old-fashioned party machinery in the country. A parallel will suggest itself to many Liberals at the present time in the coming election in England. The constituent assembly would have been a reversion to the parliamentary type of representation which offers no attraction to the rank and file of the Russian people. The Soviet gives them that direct contact with the government, an outlet for that spontaneity of expression, which they are accustomed to in the Commune. The Industrial Soviet is a spontaneous development in a centre of industrial activity of the same instinct for communal action which finds its expression in the Mir and the village Skhod or meeting. We English have not the instinct for meeting. The most unforgettable impression left by a year and a half in a Russian village is the scene so constantly witnessed in front of the village hall. An apparent pandemonium; all are talking at once, no one apparently is listening to what another says. And yet pandemonium it is not:—a conclusion is somehow reached. It can only be interpreted as collective thinking. Sometimes the whole crowd can be seen moving away at once to carry their conclusion into action. It is as mysterious as a swarm of bees.

What a contrast to our ideally elected parish councils!

Bolshevism rests on this instinct, and it seems to me that in the absence of it the widespread fears of Bolshevism in England are idle.—Yours, etc.,

The Nation. —*R. Reynolds Ball.*

THE ARBITRATOR

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